

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Madison*



VOLUME IV, NUMBER 44

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JULY 15, 1935

## Europe Affected by Abyssinian Dispute

**Powers Unable to Agree on Tactics to Be Used Against Mussolini in African Venture**

**FUTURE OF LEAGUE AT STAKE**

**United States Fails to Invoke Kellogg Pact Against Italian Aggression**

Diplomats all over the world fear that there may soon be a real war in Africa. Unless the unexpected happens, Italy and Abyssinia will be at war before many weeks have passed. And, unless the unexpected happens, the whole of Europe, as well as the United States, will be deeply affected, and the delicate diplomatic machinery of the European countries thrown completely off keel. The League of Nations, already hard put to it to regain the prestige it has lost through a series of crippling defeats, may pass into permanent oblivion. The united efforts of the world to maintain peace, through the "renunciation of war" treaty, the Kellogg Pact, may prove fruitless, and all the idealism to which lip-service has been paid these last 15 years or so in dealing with international problems may prove ineffectual in settling the differences arising between nations.

### International Aspects

That Washington and every capital in Europe should become absorbed in a conflict between one of the great European powers and a backward, unknown country in the eastern part of Africa is not surprising. This latest tug-of-war has placed each of the major nations in a dilemma, the like of which it has not known in many a day. It threatens to upset that sensitive balance by which peace in Europe has been maintained during the last three or four perilous years. Nations which had been sticking together in the interest of self-preservation have been brought dangerously near the breaking point as a result of the skirmish.

Like so many other international conflicts which have thrust nations into war, the Italo-Ethiopian dispute began very simply. Late in January of this year, there was a clash between Italian and Ethiopian soldiers on the border between Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. As is generally the case with such incidents, each country placed the responsibility upon the shoulders of the other. For a while there was talk of war. Italy began shipping soldiers to Africa. The Ethiopian empire placed orders for munitions in the leading capitals of Europe. Then the furor died down for a while, only to come to life again a few weeks ago with renewed vengeance, involving not only the two disputants but all the main countries of Europe and the United States.

Italy's reasons in seeking to gain a foothold in Abyssinia, perhaps to make it an Italian colony, are not difficult to see. Since Mussolini took charge of the government in Rome 14 years ago he has made no bones about his ambitions for Italy. Italy would some day become a great country, an empire in fact. What she had been cheated out of by the Versailles Treaty in the way of new territory on the continent and overseas colonies she would make up

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SUMMER READING

—Brooklyn Times Union

## Irreverence

Indignation is likely to be aroused against acts of irreverence. We do not like it if one stands with covered head before a shrine, if he scoffs at a church, or if he refuses to salute a flag. We naturally suspect that there is something deficient in the character of one who feels no sense of respect for institutions or emblems which represent the faith or the aspirations of others. But no offense against a church or shrine or flag implies an irreverence so heedless as that which is marked by acts or attitudes of disrespect directed toward living men and women. There is no symbol, be it a pile of stone, an inscription or a banner, which is as sacred as a human life. No scoffer is as insensitive as the one who sneers at the essential problems, the hopes and aspirations of living men.

What anarchist or infidel, hooting at a church or a flag, is guilty of an offense comparable to that of the wealthy manufacturer who, a few days ago, said he would not give employment to any man who had accepted relief from the government? This man is untouched by the sufferings of his fellow countrymen. He is unmoved by their distress. He stands smugly by, enjoying the security of himself and his family, utterly heedless of the heartaches and the misery of the millions of men and women who go about knocking at closed doors, asking for employment which no one will give. He cares not for the clutch of fear which attacks millions of hearts when families' standards of living are endangered. It means nothing to him that several million men have had to choose between seeing their wives and little children hungry and the acceptance of such meager assistance as the comfortable portion of the population, acting through their government, have offered. This man has closed his eyes to economic and social reality. He lives in a world of his own creation. He assumes that only the motives of the comfortable are worthy. He tramples upon the rights of those of his fellow men who are most in need of help.

Scarcely less irreverent is the smug declaration made on the Fourth of July by a United States senator that "the people of America are born to overcome, not to be pampered, not to be secure, but to carve, to make their own way, to conquer." How blind and stupid is the assumption that those whom industry cannot employ are being "pampered" when they receive government aid! We do not, indeed, need a kept and supported class, whether rich or poor, but we do need a measure of security which will insure to all a chance to maintain decent living standards. Those who would deny such a privilege to millions of their unfortunate fellow countrymen are guilty of a darker blasphemy than that which prompts misguided fanatics who vent their spleen against inanimate symbols of cloth or stone.

## AAA Amendments Debated by Congress

**Designed to Correct Imperfections of Administration's Agricultural Relief Program**

**CONSTITUTIONALITY QUESTIONED**

**Adverse Ruling Would Upset Whole Scheme of Raising Farm Prices**

Two developments of the last few days have brought the Agricultural Adjustment Administration sharply to public attention. One of these developments is the attempt which is being made to amend the AAA. This attempt comes from friends of the act. They are trying to make it stronger and to extend it in certain directions, as we shall explain in a little while. These amendments have been passed by the House of Representatives and they are now under consideration in the Senate. The other development affecting the AAA is the raising of the question of its constitutionality. In a number of places dealers in farm products, who are required under the law to pay a tax on their purchases of crops, are refusing to obey the law on the ground that it is unconstitutional, and several suits have been instituted to test AAA constitutionality before the courts. In Congress and out, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is passing in review. Questions are being raised as to what it has accomplished, as to what, if any, harmful results have come from it, as to whether it is in accordance with the Constitution, and what, if any, changes in agricultural policy should be adopted.

### Historical Background

The enactment of the AAA program in the early months of the Roosevelt administration followed more than a decade of political agitation on the part of the farmers. The depression which struck the whole country in 1929 was not a new thing to them. They had been suffering from hard times since 1920. The prices of farm products had been abnormally low. They were low in relation to other prices. The farmers, during the 1920's, had not been able to exchange their goods on terms as favorable as they enjoyed during the years before and during the World War. The farmer who hauled his stuff to market could not bring back as much in return. With a given quantity of wheat or cotton or potatoes or hogs he could not buy as much clothing and farm implements and other necessary supplies. The farmers were calling for a restoration of the old conditions. They wanted to be in a position equal to that which they enjoyed during the early years of the twentieth century. In other words, they called for "parity" of prices and conditions.

The AAA undertakes to put them back into their old relative position. It undertakes to give them prices as high in relation to other prices as prevailed before the World War; that is, during the years 1909-1914. It undertakes to give them prices high enough so that they can sell what they produce at a profit. That, after all, is what all producers want, whether they are manufacturers, transporters, or farmers.

The AAA undertook to give the farmers a profit in the same way that other pro-

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has made an important statement relative to the Guffey coal bill (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, June 24). He has written a letter to Sam B. Hill, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee subcommittee which is investigating the measure, asking that it be passed even though there is a question as to its constitutionality. The mining of coal, he says, is not, strictly speaking, an interstate transaction. It goes on wholly within some particular state. But the interstate shipment of coal is vitally affected by conditions under which mining is carried on. Therefore it may be argued that regulation of the coal mining industry by the national Congress is a reasonable way of regulating interstate commerce and may be constitutional under the power of Congress to regulate commerce.

The President admits that there is doubt about constitutionality. There are many different views. But the need for the legislation is urgent. (If it is not enacted a nation-wide coal strike is probable.) JOHN L. LEWIS The President adds significantly:

A decision by the Supreme Court relative to this measure would be helpful as indicating, with increasing clarity, the constitutional limits within which this government must operate.

It appears that the President is anxious to have further court decisions specifying more clearly what the powers of Congress are, and that he is laying the basis for a campaign for constitutional amendment which will enlarge the powers of the federal government.

### Presidential Poise

In the face of growing opposition and occasional defeat of his policies President Roosevelt is maintaining remarkable outward poise. In the twice-a-week conferences which he holds in his office with members of the press, he has, with one or two exceptions, appeared quite calm and unruffled. He maintains his usual good nature and his unfailing sense of humor. He does not really take the correspondents into his confidence, to any considerable extent. He frequently refuses to discuss "touchy" questions, but he is almost always courteous and affable and apparently unexcited in the midst of very difficult situations. He shows no indication of failing health and strength due to the strain to which he is subjected.

### A Busy Summer

It seems that Congress must remain in session during the summer. There is a great deal remaining to be done. Something must be done to bring some kind of stability to the coal industry and to prevent the threatened coal strike. The amendments to the AAA and the TVA are to be passed upon; also the ship subsidy problem. Very important changes in our banking system are being considered. The question is up as to whether busses and trucks as well as railroads should be regulated. And now Congress must work out a tax bill designed to raise more revenue and thus to go at least some distance toward a balanced budget.

Why should Congress not remain in session and work at these and other big national problems? It is hot in Washington during the summer, of course, but other people work through the heat; farmers, laborers, clerks, and all the rest of us. And why should it seem strange that a Congress, the body which governs a large country like America, with all its perplexing problems, should find all this a full-time job?

For a while, when the tax bill appeared likely



to be delayed until the next session, hopes of an adjournment before the heat sets in ran high. President Roosevelt encouraged rapid action on pending bills. But with the tax bill, so strenuously opposed by important interests, back on the calendar, both Congress and the President realized that their job was too difficult to be done in haste.

### Traveling Again

Despite the increasing unemployment figures there is abundant evidence that large sections of the American population are better off than they have been for several years. One of these indications is to be found in the travel figures. More people are on the go this summer than at any time since 1929. Ocean travel is said to have increased by 40 per cent over 1934, and last year's figure was 50 per cent above 1933. The railroads report increased passenger business and many lines are putting on additional trains to take care of it. Travel on American air transport lines, says the *Christian Science Monitor*, advanced 49 per cent in the first three months of this year over 1934. Busses are also doing a good business, and one has but to drive on any main highway to be supplied with convincing evidence of the heavier private automobile traffic.

### Taxpayers' Strikes

A number of states, hard pressed for funds, have either enacted sales tax laws recently or increased the sales taxes already in existence. Illinois, Arkansas, New Jersey, California, North Carolina, and South Dakota have thus placed new burdens on consumers. Sales taxes of some sort are now in effect in more than half the states.

In several places people are opposing the collection of these taxes. In New Jersey, where a new 2 per cent tax has been levied, strong protest is being made against the collection of a tax on the price of meals served in public eating places. The claim is made that this is double taxation. The restaurant pays a tax when the food is purchased; then the patron is taxed on it again when he is served. This is an interesting point which may be raised in other states. In Arkansas a number of merchants are refusing either to add the amount of the sales tax (2 per cent) to the goods they sell or to pay the tax out of their own pockets.

### An Example

Those who are interested in securing improved social and economic conditions through governmental action have recently focused most of their attention upon the federal government. This is natural because it is very hard to bring about action by the separate states. Members of a state legislature are likely to fear that if they establish higher labor standards, for example, in their state, competing business in

neighboring states may be unregulated and may thereby reap an advantage at the expense of the state with higher standards. It is possible, however, for a state to do very effective work in social and economic regulation. Connecticut has furnished an example of what may be done in an important field of legislation. Here are important legislative achievements of the last two years:

A child labor law; limitation of the work week, prohibiting employment of women and minors under 18 from working more than 48 hours a week, or between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.; minimum wage act specifying minimum fair wages for various industries; legislating against sweatshops by regulating industries carried on in the home; the establishment of a board of arbitration for labor disputes.

### Political Maneuvers

Republicans are becoming more active; are looking forward to 1936 with real hope. A few months ago no responsible political leader thought there was a chance to beat President Roosevelt next year. Now the result of the 1936 election is admittedly in doubt, though the Democrats feel that they have a decided advantage. Postmaster General James A. Farley is leaving Washington this week for a six-week survey of the country to find out whether there really is a reaction against the New Deal and, if so, how extensive it is. Republicans, most of whom are thought to favor former President Hoover for renomination, have been meeting in Ohio to lay plans. Other regional Republican meetings, following the one early last month at Springfield, Illinois, and the later conference of "Young Republicans" in New York, will soon be held.

Meanwhile a movement for a radical third party has been launched in Chicago. A convention of "native American radicals" who want a socialistic society but who oppose Communism and who declare against the use of force to bring about political changes, was held last week and a decision was made to launch a new party. The name tentatively chosen for the new organization is "The American Commonwealth Political Federation." The chairman is Paul Douglas, professor of economics in the University of Chicago.

This convention adopted a platform calling, among other things, for public ownership of basic industries, including banks, railroads, and public utilities, production for use rather than for profit, social security, right of workers to organize, the assurance to farmers of a price covering cost of production for such part of their products as are required for home consumption (no plan is suggested as to the handling of the surplus above that amount), heavy taxation of large incomes, payment of soldiers' bonus, federal aid to education.

### Deadliest Weapon

The United States, it appears, is not to be outdone by other nations in the possession of instruments for dealing wholesale death and destruction. A new plane, larger than any heretofore in the service, is being delivered to the Army Air Corps. The *New York Times* says that "the great four-motored 'mystery' bomber just completed for the Army Air Corps by the Boeing Aircraft factory at Seattle, was designed to carry six

tons of bombs for 6,000 miles without refueling and to have a top speed of 230 miles an hour. If its actual performance equals these specifications it will be the deadliest air weapon in the world."

This new mystery bomber, it is said, can climb to an altitude of 30,000 feet, and from that height can discharge its deadly explosives. Upon whom? And what for? A plane of this kind is clearly not a defensive instrument. It is not designed to repel an air raid. It is for offensive purposes—for the destruction of foreign cities, for the killing of men, women, and children in their homes. Perhaps it may help us to win a war—but what war? Against whom are we to launch an attack? And what did we mean, by the way, when we signed the Kellogg Pact, promising never to resort to war as an instrument of national policy—never to go to war except in self-defense? These are merely a few questions



IN THE GOOD OLD SUMMER TIME  
—Washington Post

which may occur to curious-minded observers of our government's strenuous preparations on sea and in the air for offensive warfare.

### Getting At It

For some time the idea has been widely held among thoughtful and well-informed people that industry in America can never be stable until a way is found to put more purchasing power into the hands of the masses. Too much of the national income, it is said, goes to a few, who invest it; that is, put it into new factories or plants—into agencies for increased production. But, as production increases, the time comes when the people, with their limited buying power, cannot purchase the things which are being produced. Then we have overproduction; surplus, unemployment, crash. The way out, it is argued, is to place more of the national income in the hands of those who will use it to buy things which they need. Then production may be held back somewhat, but demand for goods will increase, and there will be a balance between production and consumption. Result, a higher standard of living and a more stable economy.

But how is this redistribution of income to be effected? There have been numerous studies showing the need for it, but economists have failed at the job of telling what is to be done about it. Now that task is to be undertaken by the Twentieth Century Fund, a nonpartisan economic research organization, founded by Edward A. Filene, progressive and humanitarian Boston merchant. A report of the fund's trustees declares that there is an urgent need "for the formulation of practical policies rather than for the accumulation of mere information."

### Depression Not Over

The National Industrial Conference Board has given out a report on unemployment for May. This is the latest period for which figures are available. Here are the figures: May, 1934—9,201,000; May, 1935—9,711,000. Increase during the year—5.5 per cent.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SURROUNDED BY JOURNALISTS AT A PRESS CONFERENCE  
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# AROUND THE WORLD

**France:** Premier Pierre Laval's government, which came into office as the climax of a series of hectic and short-lived attempts to unite the French Chamber of Deputies, is now facing serious problems outside the Chamber. France's armies of the right and left are determined to "save the Republic," despite the fact that M. Laval is bent on doing the same thing. The right is headed by Colonel François de la Rocque, commander of the militant fascist organization, the Croix de Feu. The left is gathered into the "United Front against Fascism," with representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties leading a combined group of democrats and radicals.

Both are dissatisfied with M. Laval. In fact, they are dissatisfied with parliamentary government. The right believes that the Chamber of Deputies is unable to manage the finances of the Republic, without recurring crises, political corruption, and those scandals which are so intimate a part of French public life. The left fears that France's present parliamentary government will be too easy a prey for militant right tactics, and that a "middle of the road" cabinet like M. Laval's will fall into the hands of the fascists with little difficulty. Thus, each announces as its aim the salvation of the Republic.

Within the past few weeks, the danger of violence in this three-cornered quarrel has become imminent. Colonel de la Rocque claims that he can mobilize, on short notice, an army of 10,000 to 15,000 men to put down "disturbances" in any section of France. The United Front has organized demonstrations against the Croix de Feu, and although its leaders claim that it is unarmed, and protest against de la Rocque's private army, the belief is that the left would be just as ready to resort to force as the right. A crisis, which may tell whether French parliamentarism can withstand further onslaughts, was expected on July 14, France's national holiday.

**Sweden:** For the first time in 17 years, the three nations of Scandinavia, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, are beginning to wonder where they stand in Europe's armament race. Since the World War, in which none of them participated, the Scandinavian countries have never felt any real menace to their security. Germany was disarmed and helpless. Great Britain, France, and the United States, the world's leading naval powers, carried on an extensive Scandinavian trade and stood ready to protect the North Sea and the Baltic. Consequently, all three have been "disarmament" nations. Their budgets

have included little expenditure for land armaments or warships.

But with the signature of the Anglo-German naval accord, Scandinavians no longer feel secure. They fear that the German fleet will be in unchallenged control of the Baltic. "Every new unit added to the German fleet," says an important Stockholm newspaper, "makes Sweden's position so much worse. Even before 1914 our position was better, as then the Russian and German fleets were about balanced."

Moreover, Germany has already sent out a warning that since Norway and Sweden stand behind Denmark in controlling the entrances to the Baltic the three countries can maintain their neutrality only if they have the power to open or close these entrances at will. In other words, Germany is not willing to depend on the Scandinavians to keep the Baltic open or closed as Germany's naval strategy demands. The Germans have served notice that this is no position for "disarmed" nations to hold.

The result has been a widespread reaction in Scandinavia against disarmament. The naval agreement has strengthened the position of all those who favor extensions in the air and sea forces of the peninsula. Scandinavia's disarmament is now seen not as moral leadership, but as a special circumstance made possible by the power of Great Britain and the post-war collapse of Germany. Now that the Scandinavians feel that Great Britain has given up her responsibility, they are expected to fall in line with the rest of Europe in its costly and disastrous race to rearm.

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**Austria:** Ranking members of the Hapsburgs, Europe's oldest royal family, saw the prospects of their return to the throne of Austria brightening in the past two weeks. They have been in exile for 17 years, and now it seems that young Prince Otto, pretender to the Austrian crown, has a good chance to return in triumph to Vienna and begin his reign over the Austrian people.

The Austrian government has approved a bill which provides for Otto's possible return to Vienna and which restores to the Hapsburgs some of their former properties. The property amounts to 62,000 acres, most of it rich and fertile, and it includes numerous family castles in the capital city and the country. The Hapsburgs are also granted under the bill a sum of 10,000,000 shillings (about \$1,400,000) in payment for properties which cannot now be returned. The bill is awaiting the signature of the Austrian president.

This action of the government had important effects throughout Europe. The



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DIPLOMATS OF THE FAR EAST  
Constantin Yurenev, left, Soviet ambassador to Japan, and Korekiyo Takahashi, right, Japan's veteran minister of finance and diplomat, confer on Soviet-Japanese relations.

Hapsburgs, who have been living at Steenockerzeel, six miles from Brussels, gathered for a family conclave to discuss plans for Otto's return. But somewhat more serious was the reaction in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, which were once parts of the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian empire. These new countries fear that a Hapsburg monarch in Vienna would do his best to recover his former possessions in their territories. It was rumored that the restoration of the Hapsburgs would be met, without delay, by the mobilization of the armies of these three nations of the "Little Entente." And that, of course, would involve the League of Nations, and cause the same diplomatic revolution which followed the return of Germany as a European power. Germany has already revived from her post-war military and naval prostration; if Austria, her old ally, restores the Hapsburgs and sets out on the same aggressive course, there would be small chance of maintaining the precarious balance which now keeps the peace in Europe.

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**Germany:** The old maxim, "No crime without law, no punishment without law," no longer carries any weight in German courts. Dr. Hans Frank, minister without portfolio, who has been the leading spirit in Nazi legal reform, has just announced that the state can punish accused persons even when there is no law to cover their offense. Nazi courts, Dr. Frank said, should not be restrained by the absence of a law, since the main purpose of the courts is the "protection of the people and the state against their enemies."

This announcement completes the process which was begun when the National Socialists came into power. The first landmark was Chancellor Hitler's decree that all judges were to be regarded as his personal appointees, subject to removal without notice if he was displeased with their decisions. The second came last month, when the highest Prussian administrative court declared that the actions of the German secret police were above the law, and that no suit against the police could be brought into any German court.

Thus the National Socialists now control the personnel of the bench, and can dictate the law which the courts enforce. They have fulfilled their aim foreshadowed two years ago, of making Germany's laws and Germany's courts the instruments of National Socialist policy. No legal protection remains to anti-Nazis in Germany. How Hitler will use this vast power is another question. For the present it is enough to see how complete and far-reaching that power has become.

## THOUGHTS AND SMILES

You can only obtain the exercise of your rights by deserving them, through your own activity, and your own spirit of love and sacrifice.

—Mazzini

Nearly every job in Russia is a government job, says a writer. Can it be they have copied our form of government?—*BROOKLYN EAGLE*

The height of inconvenience is to be shipwrecked on a desert island with nothing but a cross-word puzzle book and no pencil.

—*OTTAWA EVENING CITIZEN*

I am not a politician, and my other habits are good.

—Artemus Ward

The turtle is an example of how useless streamlines are without a good engine.

—*VANCOUVER PROVINCE*

Public opinion is what everybody thinks everybody thinks.

—*WASHINGTON POST*

The latest type of umbrella is made of transparent material. This enables a person to see where he is going and if the owner is coming.

—*HUMORIST*

Scientists have invented a "brain wash." The people who write those modern novels could probably stand a vigorous scrubbing.

—*GREENVILLE (S. C.) PIEDMONT*

Not in rewards, but in the strength to strive, the blessing lies.

—*JOHN TROWBRIDGE*

Jobless actors, backed by Uncle Sam, will present the drama throughout the country. The mortgage-holding villain will probably be foiled by the arrival of a federal loan.

—*TOPEKA DAILY CAPITAL*

It is claimed some old folks remember when "The Public Works" was a declarative sentence.

—*LIFE*

Gen. Johnson, taking charge of work relief in New York, said that "no miracles can be promised." What kind of un-American talk is this?

—*BOSTON TRANSCRIPT*

The average American family pays an annual crime bill of \$240. Well, it gets a lot of crime for its money.

—*ROCHESTER DEMOCRAT AND CHRONICLE*

Oft expectation fails, and most oft there where most it promises.

—*WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE*



THE CROIX DE FEU ON PARADE IN PARIS



# Public Opinion in the Making

## The Political Line-up

President Roosevelt's defeat in the House of Representatives on the utilities holding company "death sentence" (see *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, July 8) is a reminder of the difficult position in which the President finds himself. He is the leader of the Democratic party, and that party has an overwhelming majority in both houses of Congress. It might be expected, therefore, that he would have easy sailing. But the fact is that, when fundamental issues are involved, party means very little in American politics. There is not much difference between Republicans and Democrats. Both parties are normally conservative. Most of the leaders of both parties reflect the views common among business men. They oppose much governmental regulation of business. They do not like the idea of national economic planning by political authorities. As between employers and workers, they incline toward the interests of the employers. They oppose drastic experiments engaged in for the purpose of improving the lot of the poorer classes.

In both parties there is a progressive minority which challenges these conservative views. Occasionally the progressives have gained the ascendancy in each of the parties. Theodore Roosevelt gave a progressive cast to Republicanism during his administration. The elder LaFollette and the later Republican progressives of the Norris type have unsuccessfully challenged conservative domination of the Republican party. William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson represented Democratic progressivism. But the conservatism of Mark Hanna, Taft, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, has usually been the controlling influence in Republicanism, and the conservatism of Tammany Hall, and of John W. Davis, Cox, Al Smith, Glass, Owen D. Young, has usually been a controlling Democratic influence. In the campaign of 1928, the Democrats under Smith and John Raskob were largely a "big business" party. That is only one election back, and the party leaders have not changed color so quickly.

Against this background we are to interpret the struggles of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democrat of the Bryan-Wilson school, but more advanced in his economic progressivism than either of them. He is trying to reshape the economic life of the nation through the exercise of governmental authority. He speaks for little business as against big business, for the worker rather than the employer. He believes the government can and should do something to reduce poverty, to create more stable industrial conditions, to provide better housing and so on. Naturally he is coming up squarely against conservative opposition. This opposition was inactive for a time because everyone was scared—because of the general fear of economic collapse. So long as this fear continued everyone was willing to let the President see what he could do about it. But now that fear is lessening its hold, the lines are reforming on conservative versus progressive lines. That is why a Democratic President finds himself unable at times to control an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. That is why nearly all the big newspapers are assailing the President. That is why we may expect that the chief executive will have tough sledding from now on, and why we may anticipate a presidential campaign of historic significance next year.

This interpretation of the controversies which are arising relative to Roosevelt policies does not, of course,

explain every issue which develops over White House acts and programs. It does, however, furnish a clue to an understanding of general political trends.

## Much Ado

Many people are asking why such a fuss was raised over the House of Representatives' vote on utility holding companies. Why did the President fight so hard to have the Senate plan rather than the House plan adopted? Why was the vote of the House considered such a rebuke to the President? The Senate bill required that holding companies of a certain objectionable sort (see *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, July 8) be dissolved not later than 1942. The House bill provided that they might be dissolved on order of the Securities Commission if they persisted in maintaining the objectionable forms of organization. The House measure left it to the judgment of the Commission. The Commission, of course, is in accord with President Roosevelt, having been appointed by him. Walter Lippmann compares the Senate and House measures in this way:

The essential difference between the two bills is that under the Senate bill the holding company must prove to the Commission and to the courts that it ought not to be dissolved eventually, and under the House bill the Commission must prove to the court that the company ought eventually to be dissolved. Either way nothing much can happen until after two new Congresses have been elected. Even then nothing much must happen until a batch of complicated law suits have made their weary way through the courts. The struggle has turned upon whether something must, or whether something may, happen five or ten years from now.

There is, however, this substantial difference, and perhaps it is great enough to justify the fight which was made in the House. The bill as passed by the House delegates power to decide upon the fate of the holding companies to the Securities Commission. This may render the act unconstitutional. The Supreme Court may hold that Congress delegated legislative power, a thing it cannot do. The Senate bill did not delegate power in that way. It declared it to be the judgment of Congress that certain kinds of holding companies should be dissolved. It may be that the utility interests fought so hard for the House bill, not because they considered it much more favorable to them than the Senate bill but because they wanted the action of Congress to be set aside by the Supreme Court. It may be that the President fought so hard for the Senate bill because he wanted congressional action which would stick.

## Political Wisdom?

Can the Republican party ride into power next year on waves of discontent against the Roosevelt administration? Can it succeed merely by criticizing the New Deal, or must it offer a constructive program which will stand as a substitute for what the Democrats are doing? Must the Republicans promise definitely what they will do if again entrusted with power? John M. Hamilton, Republican national committeeman from Kansas, thinks not. He says:

Republicans who say we should talk on constructive issues don't know their politics. You beat men in office, you don't elect men. . . . People vote their dislikes. It may not be sportsmanlike to work on that basis, but this is not the time to sit back and be nice.

## "Me First"

Chester Wright's *Labor Letter*, a pro-labor publication, publishes the following report of a very significant survey under the title, "Me First."

"Do you believe that the government should see to it that every man who wants to work has a job?"

Replies to this question asked by investigators in a survey by the magazine *Fortune* show that it depends on the relative security of the individual. Those who do not need jobs are inclined to say "No." Note the percentages by groups.

Totals: Yes, 76.8; No, 47.8; Uncertain, 3.1  
 Prosperous: Yes, 46.6; No, 47.8  
 Upper Middle Class: Yes, 69; No, 26.2  
 Lower Middle Class: Yes, 81.1; No, 15.8  
 Poor: Yes, 88.8; No, 8.6

## Relief for Loafers?

Fields of lush red raspberries ripening in the sun. Farmers hopefully counting their reward. Cars waiting on the sidings. Eager mouths waiting the taste of the fresh fruit. But—potential packers refusing jobs and living idly on government relief checks while the berries rot on the bushes.

This is the unpleasant picture drawn in a news dispatch from Hammonton, N. J., where state relief officials are quoted as saying they cannot compel relief recipients to take work in helping save the crop. Similar reports and complaints have come from other localities, as from the strawberry patches of North Carolina and the sheep ranches of Arizona.

Thus the *Christian Science Monitor* tells the story of a very widespread suspicion—a suspicion that those who are on relief, many of them, really don't want to work; that we are developing loafers and paupers by the federal relief



HAVE THEY ANOTHER RIDER IN SIGHT?  
—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

policy. The cautious *Monitor* does not jump at conclusions. It thinks the problem should be carefully considered but it suggests that "there may be something to be said on the side of the workers." That is what *The New Republic* thinks, and here is what it says:

The strawberry fields of eastern North Carolina furnish a recent instance of the way in which the threat of being withdrawn from relief rolls is held as a club over the heads of workers. With seasonal crops such as strawberries, the demand for labor is widespread and intense for a comparatively brief period, and then virtually ceases. At the height of the demand, local farmers set up a great howl about "those lazy loafers on relief, who won't work even when you offer them a job." In many cases, as happened in North Carolina, the farmers succeed in getting the local relief authorities to issue an order that any person who is offered a job and refuses to take it will be dropped from the relief rolls. The effect of such an order in enabling farmers to maintain bad wage scales and working conditions is obvious. Desperate as was their need, many workers in North Carolina chose to have their sole means of sustenance cut off rather than go to work under prevailing conditions. The E. R. A. office in Wilmington, after futile efforts to induce local newspapers to make a survey of conditions, sent its own investigators into the field. The state commissioner of labor had promised the berry pickers transportation to and from the fields; food and housing while there; and a wage return of \$1.50 to \$2.00 a day, net, after all expenses were paid. After a five-day study of representative farms, the E. R. A. investigators reported the workers being quartered like cattle in one and two-room houses, fifteen and twenty persons eating and sleeping in one room; food furnished in no case; inadequate or totally lacking sanitary facilities; and the highest possible average net earning was only 35 cents a day.

## More About the Normandie

We have heard a great deal about the luxurious new French liner, the *Normandie*. Well, here is something else—something which does not appear in the advertising notices. The Manchester (England) *Guardian Weekly* inspected the crew's quarters, "with their old-fashioned bunks and the hard and bare tables and stools of their mess room." The *Guardian* makes this comment:

When one considers the excessive luxury in which the passengers will live for four or five days, the Spartan accommodations with which the crew will have to be content for years seems a little too violent a contrast. Surely on a ship of this size space could have been found for a common room with some comfortable seats and opportunities for leisure and recreation.

## Speaker Byrns' Motto

The speaker of the House of Representatives, Joseph W. Byrns, has framed in his office a new motto which he considers very good. It was written by Mark Twain and reads as follows:

"Always do right. This will gratify some people and astonish the rest. Yours truly, Mark Twain."

## THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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UP FOR DISSECTION  
—Portland Evening Express



## Among the New Books

**"A Short History of International Affairs: 1920-1934,"** by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. \$3).

This history has been issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute for International Affairs. In the main, it is a summary of the admirable annual histories of international politics which are edited for the institute by Professor Arnold Toynbee. But the material has been recast by the present author, to offer an organized approach to the 15 years since the end of the World War and the establishment of the League of Nations.

Dr. Gathorne-Hardy thinks that the chief development of the period has been the effort of the old pre-war diplomacy to solve the problems arising from the idealism of the peace settlement. That idealism dismembered Austria, spread the gospel of self-determination among many subject peoples who were not capable of self-government, and created, in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the new Rumania, three great new states which upset the equilibrium of Europe. The old diplomacy, between nation and nation, has had to work behind the back of the League. Captain Eden's recent mission goes far to support the author's contention. England tried to deal with Italy and Germany just as she might have in 1900. The League was ignored.

This short history, aside from its interpretation, will be a handy volume of reference for students of international affairs. Since it covers so much ground, it sometimes seems scrappy, but that appearance is inevitable in a history of this kind. Dr. Gathorne-Hardy writes easily and well, and, outside of a tendency to give the British the benefit of all doubts, he preserves a fair, scholarly attitude toward the conflicts of the European nations.

**"Paths of Glory,"** by Humphrey Cobb (New York: Viking. \$2.50).

This first novel has attracted a great deal of favorable criticism, and rightly so, for it is a skillful and honest story. Mr. Cobb tells of a mutiny in the French Army during the World War. The fifth company had just returned from the fierce battle of St. Mihiel, where it had fought honorably, where many of its men had been killed and where all had been driven to nervous and physical exhaustion. The company thought it was in line for a well-deserved rest.

But General Assolant, commander of the division, thought otherwise. He was ambitious and coveted the star of the Legion of Honor. The division must take the "Pimple," a well-fortified mountain held by the Germans. So the tired company was pushed forward, and in the first moments of the attack the German fire drove it back into the trench. Assolant, bitter at his failure, called their retreat "cowardice in the face of the enemy," and ordered that one member of each company should be executed as an example. The mock trials were held, and three men were shot down by their own firing squad. Mr. Cobb has told his story through these three men, their own lives, characters, and hopes, and the result is a powerful book. No one who reads "Paths of Glory" will talk lightly again of military discipline, or forget this dramatic picture of the way that wars are fought, and of the terrible fate of the common soldier, caught in the impersonal toils of a great army machine.

**"Deep Dark River,"** by Robert Rylee (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50).

Here is another interpretation of the South today, very different from the brutal bitterness of Erskine Caldwell or from Stark Young's loving recollection of the past. Robert Rylee writes of the wasting land and the decline of the old masterful spirit of the leading white families, and of a negro preacher, Mose Southwick, who is falsely accused of murder and finds his

first real peace and happiness in prison. There is one last effort to revive the old Southern spirit, when every white master believed that he was responsible for his own negroes and for their protection, but the effort fails. Mose goes off to prison, and Mr. Rylee feels that a whole civilization has gone with him.

The great achievement of "Deep Dark River" is the character of Mose. He is simple and honest in a society which can no longer use these virtues well. He wants to work and to be let alone, and prison is the only place left for him. Mr. Rylee's novel makes one see that there may be more important things about the Southern sharecropper than the fact that he is ill paid and hungry. Moral poverty can form an indictment just as damning as economic poverty.

### Europe Affected by Abyssinian Dispute

(Continued from page 1, column 1)

by the use of sheer force. She would expand, gaining control over regions which possessed the wealth of natural resources lacking at home and necessary for her economic advancement. Abyssinia offered her many of these things, for it already produces a goodly supply of hides, grain, wax, fine woods, and some rubber. It is said to possess rich supplies of minerals, including coal, copper, sulphur, and gold.

#### Other Nations' Interest

Aside from Italy, the two nations most directly interested in the dispute are Great Britain and France. England is extremely anxious to prevent Mussolini from continuing his African campaign. In the first place, she is anxious to keep the League of Nations a going concern. She sees in the League her best chance of keeping the peace in Europe. If the League proves itself unable to cope with the Abyssinian dispute, to sidetrack Mussolini in his expansionist move, that body will have twice shown itself powerless in the face of international conflict. It has not yet recovered from the first setback, the Manchurian episode of 1931. A similar defeat in the Ethiopian case might prove fatal.

This Great Britain does not want to happen. It was for the purpose of placating Mussolini that Captain Anthony Eden was sent to Rome a short time ago. The British even went so far as to offer Ethiopia an important strip of territory in British Somaliland if she would comply with Italy's demands for cotton and coffee plantation concessions in the southern part of the country. Mussolini rejected this unceremoniously. Having thus failed by direct diplomacy to reach her goal, Britain has since been throwing all her weight with

the League of Nations, hoping in that way to prevent the outbreak of war in Africa. Her efforts in this direction, it appears, will be no more successful than Eden's mission, as Mussolini seems to be determined to carry out his Ethiopian ambitions, even if he must withdraw from the League.

Britain's chances of bringing Italy into line would be better if she were supported by the French. But the French are in an unusually difficult position as a result of the whole affair. They feel that they were betrayed by the English when the latter reached a naval agreement with Germany, permitting her sea strength equal to 35 per cent of Britain's power. This agreement has knocked in the head all the French dreams of security against German militarism. But if that were their only grievance, the French might still support the British against Italy. The fact is, however, that recently France and Italy have become more friendly than at any time since the war. Italy has become an ally to France in working for a solution of Europe's problems, particularly in preventing the emergence of Germany as a strong power and in preventing the political union of Germany and Austria. Lest they might lose this hard-won friendship, the French are none too eager to frustrate Mussolini in his African exploits. On the other hand, should Mussolini not be curbed, the French are bound to suffer because of the blow which the League of Nations is almost certain to receive. For a decade and a half, the French have placed their hopes for peace in the League, and if they now permit Mussolini openly to defy the League, one of the main pillars of their security structure will tumble to the ground.

#### The Kellogg Pact

Although not so directly or vitally concerned with the Abyssinian affair, the United States has been drawn into the dispute. On July 4, the American government received a diplomatic communication from the Ethiopian emperor, requesting this country to invoke the Kellogg Peace Pact against Italy. By the terms of this pact, for which the United States was largely responsible, the nations renounce war as an instrument of national policy. Both Italy and Ethiopia signed the Kellogg Pact. The emperor's note was answered by President Roosevelt. "My government," the President's reply declared, "interested as it is in the maintenance of peace in all parts of the world, is gratified that the League of Nations, with a view to a peaceful settlement, has given its attention to the controversy which has unhappily arisen between your government and the Italian government and that the controversy is now in process of arbitration. My government hopes that . . . the arbitral agency dealing with this controversy may be able

to arrive at a decision satisfactory to both of the governments immediately concerned."

This is the expression of a pious hope; nothing more. The United States has adopted a hands-off policy in the dispute. Such a decision marks a reversal of the policy inaugurated in 1931, when the Japanese invaded Manchuria. At that time, we invoked the Kellogg Pact, reminding Japan that she had violated the pledge made in that treaty. But we did not let the matter rest there. It was then that



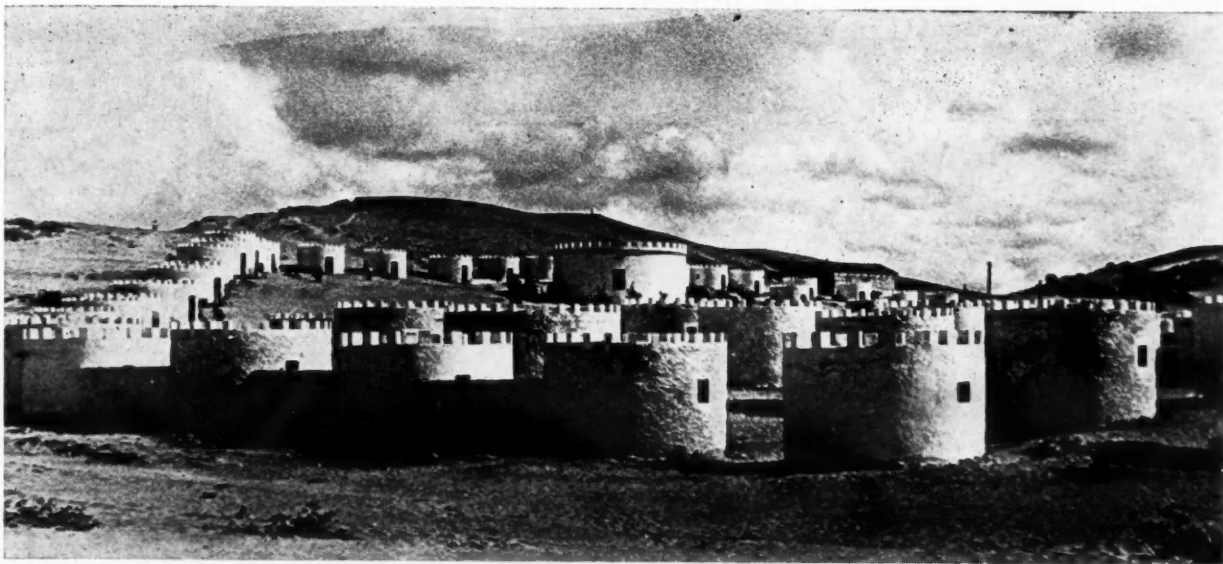
ITALY'S PROBABLE LINE OF ADVANCE  
—Courtesy New York Times

the famous Stimson Doctrine was enunciated. This government declared that it would not recognize as legal territorial changes made in violation of treaties.

Whether it was the unfortunate Manchurian experience that motivated President Roosevelt in the Ethiopian episode is impossible to say. Whatever else may be said for the course followed in 1931, it cannot be denied that our policy proved totally fruitless. American condemnation of Japan's action did not deter her in the least in her Manchurian venture; nor did it prevent her from continuing her campaign further in China. It may be that the Roosevelt administration felt that a repetition of such a course in the present dispute would have no better results, that it would in no way alter Italy's plans to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia, if that is her aim.

However, a strong stand by the American government would have been welcomed by most of the countries of Europe interested in the dispute. Officials of the League of Nations are likewise disappointed with America's negative attitude. Since the United States is more or less the father of the Kellogg Pact, the opinion is expressed, it should bestir itself to see that violators be called to task. Moreover, a strong stand by the American government would have made the British and French position much easier, since neither nation, acting alone, can do much about Ethiopia, whereas if they knew the United States were behind them they might get together

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AN ITALIAN FRONTIER POST ON THE BORDER OF ABYSSINIA

© Wide World



# The AAA Program Appraised

(Continued from page 1, column 4)

ducers, the manufacturers for example, get a profit. If the manufacturer finds that he is not getting high enough prices for what he is manufacturing he tries to raise his prices. If he cannot sell his goods at prices which will give him a profit he cuts his production. Then prices are likely to rise. Manufacturers cannot always do this, but frequently they can. If a manufacturer finds that he has a surplus of goods which he cannot sell at a profit he will close his plant or will reduce his output. The farmers had a surplus on hand. They were producing more cotton and wheat and corn and hogs and other things than people were buying. They were not producing more than people needed. But the mass of consumers were not able to buy all that the farmers were producing, paying prices which would give a profit.

## The AAA Program

The government decided then to help the farmers cut down their production. The idea was that no more should be produced than people could buy at prices favorable to farmers. There were so many farmers that they could not agree among themselves to cut their acreage, so the government stepped in and induced them to reduce. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration was created, and those in charge of it decided in the case of every one of the crops which they controlled to determine how great a quantity of that crop should be produced. They determined how much each farmer should cut his acreage in order to bring down the total product to what it ought to be. The theory behind the plan was that the farmer should be given some compensation for cutting down his acreage. He was paid to hold a certain amount of his land out of cultivation. He was not required to hold it out, but if he agreed to do so he was given a certain amount of money for the land which he did not use.

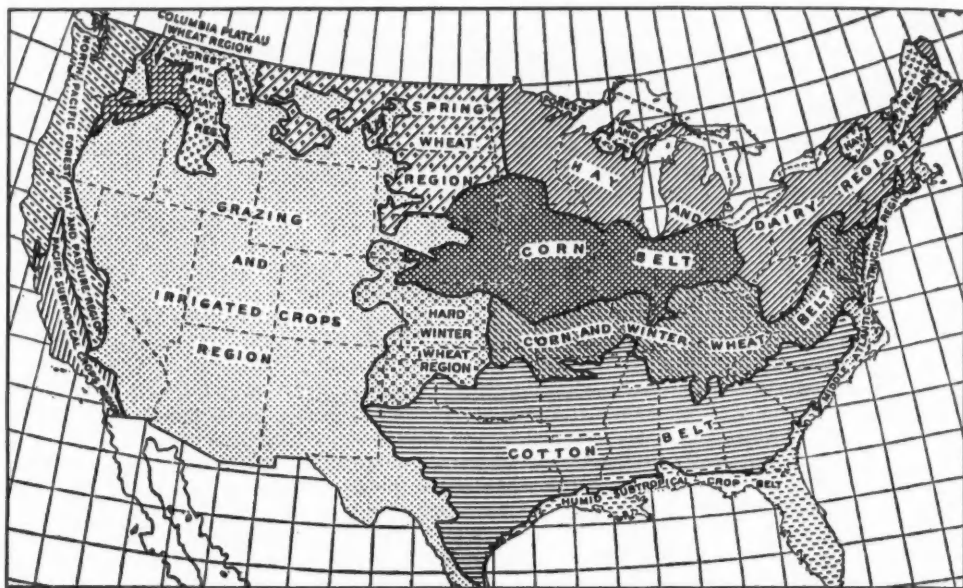
The money to pay the farmers to hold their land out of cultivation was raised by placing a tax upon the dealers, or processors, who bought the farmers' grain or cotton or hogs or tobacco or certain other products included under the act. These dealers or processors, of course, did not pay the tax out of their own pockets. When they sold the goods to wholesalers or others they added to the price. They added enough to repay them for the taxes they had paid. The money with which farmers were compensated for cutting their production has been paid ultimately by the consumers; by those who buy bread

or cotton goods or pork or tobacco.

This program has accomplished much that it set out to accomplish. It has resulted in a cutting down of production. More than 10,000,000 acres of cotton, for example, were taken out of production. As a result of the cutting down of production, prices of farm products have risen. The price of wheat has more than doubled, and many other products have shown a similar gain. In addition, millions of dollars have been paid to farmers by the government. This money, as we have said, has been raised by the processing tax. As a result of all this, farm cash income was 21 per cent higher in the spring of 1935 than in 1933, and it was 41 per cent higher than in 1932. Prices paid by farmers for nonagricultural goods were only 13 per cent higher in 1935 than in 1933, and only 15 per cent higher than in 1932. The farmer, therefore, enjoyed a much better comparative position in the spring of this year. The purchasing power of farmers has been increased materially. This has resulted not only in a higher standard of living for farm families, but in a stimulation of buying which has affected many other industries. The rapid expansion in the sale of automobiles, for example, is due in no small part to the fact that many farmers are able now for the first time in several years to buy new cars. The better situation of the farmers has had much to do with the progress toward recovery which has been registered in many sections of industry.

## A Traditional American Policy

The AAA program has been attacked along several lines. Probably the most common charge is that it is bringing about crop restriction at a time when many people are in want. We hear criticisms of the policy of plowing under cotton when people have not enough clothes, of restricting wheat output when millions are calling for bread, of cutting down the production of pigs when the people of the country have not enough meat to eat. This argument, though the one most frequently heard, is perhaps the weakest of the charges made against the farm program. It leaves out of account the fact that the hungry and ill-clad people of the country could not buy the cotton and the wheat and the pork, even if these things were produced in abundance by the farmers. The wheat might lie rotting in the bins. The farmers' prices might tumble destructively, and yet the people might cry for bread. The people have need of all these things. The trouble has been that they could not buy them, and if they cannot buy them there is no more use for the farmer to produce in excess than there is for the shoe manufacturer to produce shoes he cannot sell simply because millions of feet are on the ground.



—Courtesy U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

## PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

The fact is that, according to the theory of capitalism, which forms the basis of our national economy, people produce for profit and not for use. Socialists may fairly attack the crop restriction plan, for they advocate the production of all that the population can use. They make the government responsible for the distribution of goods to people on the basis of use. But Socialists form a small part of our population. Their theories are rejected by an overwhelming American opinion. So long as the traditional American view prevails that people should produce only that which they can sell at prices high enough to give them a profit, there seems to be no valid objection to the AAA program on the ground that it restricts production at a time of human need.

There are, however, several very definite weaknesses of the AAA program. In the first place, the money which has come into the pockets of the farmers and which has helped them to maintain higher standards of living has come not from the wealthy but from the poor. Every worker in the cities, however hard put to it he may be to make a living, is obliged to pay a little more for the necessities of life. He is obliged to pay more for his bread and his meat, for the cotton shirt he wears. Of course, it is not a new thing in American politics to have a program which favors one economic class at the expense of the consumers, most of whom are poor. A protective tariff does exactly that. By shutting out foreign competition it enables the manufacturer to charge more for his goods. Every consumer of clothing or other protected articles pays a higher price in order that more money may flow into the hands of the manufacturer. Part of it, no doubt, passes through the employer's hands into the pockets of his workers in the form of higher wages. The tariff constitutes a heavy tax upon farmers, as consumers, for the benefit of other classes. The AAA puts the shoe on the other foot.

## A Serious Weakness

The AAA program, by increasing farm prices, strikes certain industries rather severely. The increased price of raw cotton injures the New England cotton manufacturer. It raises the price of the raw cotton he must use. It forces him to raise the price of his finished products, and this, in turn, renders him less able to compete with foreign manufacturers. Here again we can compare the AAA program with the tariff. A tariff on steel, for example, increases costs of production for every manufacturer who uses steel as a raw material.

A very serious weakness of the AAA is to be found in the fact that by raising

the prices of farm products it makes it harder for these products to be sold in foreign markets. The AAA program has raised the price of American cotton. For that very reason many of the consumers of raw cotton in other countries—in England and Japan and elsewhere—who have been using American cotton are now buying their cotton elsewhere. It is a very alarming fact that the percentage of American cotton consumed in the markets of the world is rapidly dwindling. There are certain other limitations to the farm program. It does not benefit all classes of farmers. It helps farm owners, for, in addition to higher prices, they receive money for leaving some of their land out of cultivation. But for this very reason it injures tenant farmers because they receive none of this money and they have fewer acres to cultivate. The plight of the sharecroppers in the South, already pitiful, has probably been rendered even more tragic through the operation of the AAA program.

Despite all the weaknesses and the objections, it remains a fact not to be forgotten that millions of farmers, who had been rendered practically destitute by the course of economic events during the years following the war, have been benefited by the farm act, have been able to raise the standards of living of their families, and have been able further to make a marked contribution toward economic recovery throughout the land.

## Is It Constitutional?

Now we come to the question as to whether the AAA is constitutional. There is a question about this. In enacting the program, Congress was presuming to regulate the production of crops on the farms of the nation. It claimed the right to do this on the ground that commerce among the states was affected by the condition of agriculture. Of course it was affected, but the effect was indirect. Actual production on the farms is not an interstate operation. It takes place wholly within particular states. Now, does Congress, through the commerce clause, have the power to regulate an industry which affects interstate commerce only indirectly? The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the NRA case indicates that the Court holds against the power of Congress to regulate any industry unless the effect upon interstate commerce is direct. President Roosevelt, in commenting upon the Supreme Court decision, said that the decision indicated that the Court would hold unconstitutional any regulation by Congress of commerce except in the case of goods actually in transit from one state to

(Concluded on page 7, column 3)



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PICKING COTTON



## N.E.A. Convention Insists Upon Guarantee of Academic Freedom

THE annual meeting of the National Education Association, which comes nearer than anything else to being a convention of the teachers of America, was held the first week of July in Denver. Miss Agnes Samuelson, state superintendent of instruction of Iowa, was chosen president of the Association for the coming year. She succeeds Henry Lester Smith.

It is significant that this association of American teachers should have turned to Iowa for its new president. That state also furnishes the commissioner of education of the United States, John W. Studebaker. Mr. Studebaker became well known throughout the nation because of his sponsorship of the community forum idea in Des Moines at the time he was superintendent of schools in that city. This has been recognized as an important step in adult education. A considerable proportion of the adult population of Des Moines were brought together in study



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JOY ELMER  
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groups, and they had the benefit of instruction by competent lecturers. The Des Moines idea has been the inspiration

for many town halls or forums. Miss Samuelson has done a great deal in the direction of stimulating interest in the schools on the part of the public. She supports the Studebaker idea of group discussion and she is anxious that organizations such as women's clubs and business and professional bodies should be enlisted in the support of education, and that adults as well as children should enjoy educational advantages.

During her term as president of the National Education Association Miss Samuelson will emphasize the importance of participation by teachers in the development of school programs. She will also work to bring about more character education. This will be in addition to her efforts toward more advanced development in the field of adult education.

The central theme at the Denver meeting was freedom of teaching. The convention demanded that "teachers and schools should have full opportunity to present different points of view on any and all controversial questions, to aid students to adjust themselves to their environment and changing social conditions." It appointed a committee on academic freedom, the committee of five to contain three classroom teachers. It will be the duty of the committee to keep teachers informed as to proposed legislation which may infringe upon freedom of teaching, to investigate cases of wrongful discharge of teachers, and to enlist public support for the right of teachers to academic freedom.

This stand by the National Education Association is more significant because that body has been regarded as being fairly conservative. There are a number of teachers' organizations which have long demanded complete freedom of teaching, but the National Education Association heretofore has not taken such a decided stand as it did on this occasion.

The fact that freedom of teaching was a central problem of the Denver meeting indicates the continued interest of teachers in that subject, for it was a question widely discussed at the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the N.E.A. in Atlantic City last winter. At the

Atlantic City meeting, Charles A. Beard attracted wide attention by his denunciation of the campaign against the freedom of teaching which is being waged by the Hearst press. The address of Dr. Beard and the tumultuous response which he received constituted the most dramatic incident of the winter convention.

It is a well-known fact that the freedom of teachers is interfered with in many ways. Not only are they forbidden in



NEA  
AGNES  
SAMUELSON



H. & E.  
JOHN W.  
STUDEBAKER

many instances to teach the facts freely relative to controversial issues, but very often they are hampered by all kinds of

restrictive regulations. Some of these restrictions are thus summarized by the *Christian Science Monitor*:

"Blue laws" exist in some states. An Oregon school, according to the educators, provides that all men teachers must be married and no women teachers may be. A North Carolina school prohibits its men and women teachers from going out in company and requires them to teach in Sunday school.

There are provisions such as that a teacher may not be out after 10 o'clock on school nights, and other regulations which according to the educators invade "the right of the teacher to be a human being."

Last year 22 states considered bills which would put new requirements on persons seeking contracts or credentials for school service.

Eighteen states considered requiring candidates to subscribe to loyalty pledges. Employment of married persons would be prohibited under certain conditions by bills proposed in Alaska, Delaware, Nebraska, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Montana rejected a bill which would have prohibited the employment of married women teachers. Rhode Island proposed requiring teachers to be United States citizens, and state residence for specified periods was considered in Delaware, Massachusetts, and New York.

A contest over the freedom of teachers has frequently been raised by the question as to whether or not teachers should be required to subscribe to an oath. *School Life*, a publication of the United States Office of Education, publishes the following as a typical oath:

I solemnly swear or affirm that I will support the Constitution of the state of Colorado and of the United States of America and the laws of the state of Colorado and of the United States, and will teach, by precept and example, respect for the flags of the United States and of the state of Colorado, reverence for law and order, and undivided allegiance to the government of one country, the United States of America.

The magazine presents the following arguments frequently advanced for and against the requirement of teachers' oaths:

Teachers' oaths have been sponsored primarily in the name of patriotism by certain groups or organizations. The principal reasons advanced in behalf of oaths may be summarized as follows:

(a) Why shouldn't teachers take an oath? Many public officials are required to do so.

(b) Any teacher who would not agree to support the federal or state constitutions and state laws is unfit to train future citizens.

(c) Many educators and teachers are communistic. Oaths of allegiance would exclude communists from public schools.

(d) Teachers have great influence in molding public opinion and should be "100 per cent Americans."

(e) Teachers should not be permitted to use their positions to promote propaganda or prejudiced views.

The recent unprecedented legislative activity to require oaths of teachers has been for the most part opposed by teachers, scientists, and educators. The principal reasons which

have been advanced against teachers' oaths are:

(a) The duties of teaching differ from those of government officials.

(b) Most of the existing patriotism in the United States has been instilled by the great army of teachers, past and present.

(c) No proof exists that teachers as a class are disloyal or communistic.

(d) Teachers' oaths may become instruments for restricting the "freedom of teaching" and the "freedom of learning"—there is no agreement on what constitutes violation of oaths.

(e) School boards now have adequate authority to deal with any teacher when it is shown that he uses his position to disseminate political propaganda or prejudiced opinions, or for attempts to overthrow the government.

(f) Education includes not only a process of imparting truth but also a search for truth as well, and teachers and students should be free to examine the merits and demerits of old and new theories pertaining to political, economic, religious, or natural philosophy.

(g) Others who mold public opinion, such as politicians, newspaper men, authors, etc., are not subject to an oath of allegiance, and compelling teachers to take oaths singles them out as disloyal.

And so the battle rages on: The proponents of oaths say: "The schools are not teaching 100 per cent Americanism." The opponents of oaths say: "A teacher's oath smacks of spying around corners on already overworked teachers lest they forget some small detail of the morning's flag ceremony spoken day after day."

### FARM RELIEF PROGRAM

(Concluded from page 6)

another. He clearly implied that the Supreme Court might declare the AAA program unconstitutional. Whether this assumption is correct will be known before many months, for the cases involving the AAA will reach our highest judicial tribunal before long.

#### Proposed Amendments

One of the amendments to the AAA which is now before Congress provides that if the processing taxes under the AAA are declared unconstitutional the dealers who paid these taxes may not recover from the government. It might be expected that, if a dealer pays a tax and then if the tax is declared unconstitutional, he might recover the amount paid. The authors of this amendment hold, however, that it would be unjust for him to recover since the payment of the taxes did not come out of his own pocket. He passed the charge on to consumers so that he himself suffered no loss. No one can sue the United States contrary to the will of the government. So, if the government decides, by passing this amendment, that none of the processing taxes can be recovered, the decision must stand. Other amendments are designed to strengthen the AAA. One of them gives the secretary of agriculture broader powers, including the right to adjust crops instead of merely to reduce them. Under this amendment he may encourage upward as well as downward adjustments in production of crops and livestock products. Another amendment provides a more effective legal framework for cooperative agreements.

Account should be taken of the fact that Secretary of Agriculture Wallace and

others in charge of the AAA program do not regard it as a permanent solution of our agricultural ills. They look upon it as emergency legislation designed to meet a crisis and to give immediate relief. Secretary Wallace has stated very clearly that the farm problem, in its fundamentals, is but a part of a larger national problem. He insists that eventually we can save the farming industry only by one of two courses. Either we must develop larger foreign markets or we must adjust production of each farm crop to the American demand. We can obtain the foreign markets for farm products only by permitting foreigners to sell goods in this country. In that way alone will they have money enough to pay for American products. If we do not do this, Secretary Wallace says, the government will have to take charge of things and help the farmers to meet the new conditions. Millions of acres will have to be taken out of cultivation, and land now used for certain purposes must be shifted to other ends.

Still another possibility, which Secretary Wallace does not stress, is that of raising the purchasing power of the American millions so that they can consume all that the farmers produce. This can be done only by a drastic redistribution of income. It is a more radical solution than the others which have been mentioned. The AAA program is essentially conservative. It has many of the points of strength and of weakness which characterize the protective tariff, ship subsidies, and other legislative programs, time honored and traditional, which have, throughout the years, been practiced for the purpose of stimulating particular American industries.

### ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE

(Concluded from page 5, column 4)

and exert strong pressure on Mr. Mussolini.

The Abyssinian affair has likewise placed the United States in a dilemma. If we insist upon adherence to the terms of the Kellogg Pact, we may find ourselves openly defied by Italy, as we were by Japan in 1931, or else involved in a serious dispute with Italy to force compliance with our wishes. If, on the other hand, we do nothing about Italy's imperialistic venture, we are likely to see the post-war peace machinery crumble before our eyes. Many people feel that the course taken by the Roosevelt administration is the wise one; that, however unfortunate the whole episode is, it is something we can do nothing about; that we cannot concern ourselves with aggressions in China or Africa or elsewhere in the world, but should confine our attention to our own affairs. This position has been strengthened by our experience with Japan, for, by attempting to prevent Japan from carrying out her Manchurian venture, we only angered Japan and failed to alter her course on the Asiatic continent a single iota. It is feared that we would have the same experience with Italy if we attempted to alter her course in Africa. The whole Ethiopian problem, because of its many complications, has created one of the most awkward situations of the post-war period.



—Courtesy National Education Ass'n.

FREEDOM OF TEACHING IN THE CLASSROOM WAS A MAJOR ISSUE AT THE NEA CONVENTION.





ONE of the most difficult tasks of the social scientist is to gauge accurately changes in the popular attitude on important social problems. He cannot measure in terms of cold statistics the extent to which people are

### Views of public constantly change

interested in certain social or political or economic subjects as he can other great social phenomena. Even though the social sciences are generally considered less exact than the physical sciences and hence less amenable to definite laws or conclusions, there are, nevertheless, data which are sufficiently precise to permit of generalizations. The statistics on population trends over the last half century, for example, are adequate enough to permit the specialist in that field to come to certain reliable conclusions about the future, and even to speculate about the effects of population trends upon other aspects of the social life. Not so with public attitudes, for there is no dependable yardstick with which to measure them. At best only approximations may be made, and these are subject to so many exceptions that the conclusions lose a great deal of their validity. It is well known, however, that people in general do change their views or attitudes on a number of basic social problems from one generation to the next. The present generation, for example, no longer clings to the attitudes which were regarded as fundamental by the Victorians. And it is extremely unlikely that the next generation will adhere to the same mental attitudes as the present. It may revert to the attitudes of another generation, or it may scrap past principles and establish new standards. Of one thing we may be certain; the attitudes and interests of the people will not be the same.

How can we best determine whether the popular attitude on such great social problems as religion, family relations, international relations, economic and political questions, has changed? Since the people of the nation cannot be canvassed one by one and their views on a dozen of these questions recorded, the most accurate method of tackling the problem is to turn to the instruments which, in one way or another, reflect public opinion on these issues—the newspapers and magazines, and, to a lesser extent, the literature of the period. This is the technique which was used by Hornell Hart who made the investigation on changing attitudes for President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends. His findings are published in "Recent Social Trends." The reason given by Mr. Hart for using this particular method of measurement is that "in order to build up and hold circulation, the editors of successful periodicals must (among other things) discover and express attitudes acceptable to their readers."

THE basic source for the data upon which the conclusions were made is the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, supplemented by similar material covering books, contained in the *U. S. Catalog*, and newspaper

### Sources of public attitude are general

articles covered by the *New York Times Index*. At most, a survey of this kind can indicate trends in interests and attitudes; it cannot be an exact measurement of such an elusive subject. Such an investigation can, however, discern trends in two directions; it can reveal the extent to which people are interested in specific subjects, and it can indicate their attitudes on these same subjects. Concretely, it can illustrate the extent to which people are interested in the subject of prohibition and the extent to which they approve or disapprove of it.

## Attitudes of the American People

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

An interesting and significant sidelight on the relationship between periodicals and attitudes may be seen in the fact that during the first 30 years of the present century the total magazine circulation of the country increased in almost direct proportion to the enrollment in high schools and colleges. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the increasing attention devoted to actual education should be reflected in a growing interest in problems of education itself. Thus we find that in 25 years discussions of education in generally circulating periodicals doubled. The peak of educational interest, as reflected by such discussions, was reached during the 1925-1928 period.

CLOSELY allied to both the increased discussion of educational problems and the greater actual participation in secondary and higher education is the shift in emphasis upon the various types of subjects treated. The trend of the times has been definitely in the direction of more interest in the so-called scientific subjects. "The most fundamental change in the intellectual life of the United

### Attitude toward religion undergoes profound change

States reflected in the data covered by this study," declares Mr. Hart, "is the apparent shift from Biblical authority and religious sanctions to scientific and factual authority and sanctions." That the attitude of the American people on religion has undergone a drastic transformation since 1900 can hardly be denied by a study of periodicals. The attitude has not changed uniformly among the different classes of the population. The strongest criticism of traditional religious concepts has been made in the periodicals which circulate among the most highly educated groups. In the magazines read by the great masses, the "average citizens," the attitude is one of lack of interest rather than active criticism or opposition. The conclusion drawn by Mr. Hart is that religion in general has less grip upon the American people today than it had 25 or 30 years ago.

In one important respect, at least, this loosening of religious ties has influenced the attitude of the people. The Victorian attitude toward family relations has largely been supplanted by what is commonly referred to as the "modern" attitude. In article after article, in various books, the traditional standards and concepts have been challenged. We find, for example, that references to birth control were so few during the first decade of the century that they were not listed in the *Reader's Guide* until 1909. During the war years, a general controversy over the subject was waged in the magazines, and by 1930-1931 a new peak of discussion on this subject had been reached. If the opinions of periodical articles are a true index of popular attitudes, it may be said that the general views on divorce have likewise undergone a change since the beginning of the century, although only during the years 1922-1929 did a majority of the articles listed advocate easier divorces. Perhaps the most conspicuous example of the changed attitude on divorce and family relations is to be found in the general character of the movies. As one of Mr. Hart's conclusions points out, "Moving pic-

tures were more apt than any class of magazines studied to present divorce . . . in an approving light."

ONE of the important social problems about which there has been a fluctuating amount of discussion during the last 25 or 30 years has been prohibition. A peak in the number of articles on the subject was reached

### Prohibition controversial for many years

in 1908, when a great many state and local prohibition laws were being enacted. Again in 1915 another peak, only half as high as that of 1908, was reached when the demands for national prohibition were increasing. A third peak, higher than that of 1915, but not reaching that of 1908, is noticeable in 1926. What is more interesting than the fluctuations in volume of discussion on this subject is the shifting of attitudes. At times, "dry" sentiment has been in the ascendancy, whereas in other periods, the "wets" have had a majority of spokesmen in the periodicals. Of all the articles listed, the "drys" had the upper hand until 1929, when those expressing a favorable attitude toward prohibition were 328, compared with 549 against it. In the main, this shifting sentiment follows closely the political winds on the prohibition issue.

Along with the movement for national prohibition, which reached early high points in 1908 and 1915, were drives for other reforms, indicating changing popular attitudes. These reform movements were designed to correct a number of the more flagrant social and economic abuses. An increasing amount of discussion appeared in periodicals about social security, slum clearance, various social taxation plans, trusts, welfare work, and dozens of others. The peak of discussion on these subjects was reached during the period 1910-1914, and corresponds roughly to the attempt to correct some of these evils through political action, as witnessed by the early popularity of President Wilson's New Freedom. After the World War, interest in these topics subsided, reaching only 55 per cent of its previous level, paralleled in the political field by the attempt to return to "normalcy."

THE present depression offers an excellent case study of shifting popular attitudes. Unemployment and business conditions in general, subjects which attract scant attention in "normal" times, have soared to new heights in popular discussion

### Present decade offers new social problems

since 1929, supplanting many topics previously in the foreground. While these subjects have loomed large in other depressions, they faded into a position of insignificance when compared with the last five years. If and when the present depression is over, popular attitudes on these economic subjects may again be expected to shift.

We have been able to treat only sketchily some of the major social subjects upon which the attitude of the American people has changed since the beginning of the present century. A number of these attitudes have undergone revolutionary transformations during this period. Others have fluctuated back and forth, from one extreme to the other. Only in certain cases, religion and family relations, for example, does the trend appear to be constantly in a clearly defined direction. Whether the next decade or two will see a reversal of this process cannot be predicted with any degree of accuracy.

## Something to Think About

1. Does the AAA impose a tax upon all the people for the benefit of a class? If so, what argument can be made for such a procedure? Do the same arguments apply in the case of a protective tariff? A ship subsidy?
2. To what extent, if at all, have farmers benefited from the AAA program? Has the country as a whole profited in any way?
3. What seems to you to be the most serious weakness of the AAA?
4. Do you think that the United States government should interfere to prevent a nation from waging an aggressive war upon another nation?
5. Is the production of instruments of war such as the new mystery bomber (page 2) inconsistent with the pledges given by the United States under the Kellogg Pact?
6. What, if any, value has the Kellogg Pact?
7. What justification, if any, is there for the passage of an act, such as the Guffey coal bill, which, admittedly, may be unconstitutional?
8. Do you think that recent events in Austria constitute a threat to European peace?

9. Do you agree with the view expressed by Republican Committeeman Hamilton? (page 4)
10. Does the poll taken by *Fortune* (page 4) indicate that the different classes of the population are equally unable to view public problems impartially and unselfishly?
11. Do you agree with the freedom of teaching resolution adopted by the National Education Association at the Denver meeting?

REFERENCES: (a) The AAA and Its Work. *Congressional Digest*, December, 1934, p. 296. (b) Emergency Alphabet Agencies Facing Action by New Congress. *Congressional Digest*, January, 1935, pp. 9-10. (c) America, Recluse or Trader. *Collier's*, February 2, 1935, pp. 7-8. (d) Hail from Selassie. *New Outlook*, June, 1935, pp. 16-20. (e) Rape of Abyssinia? *Nineteenth Century and After*, June, 1935, pp. 646-658. (f) Perpetual Peace: Official Schemes and Projects. *Contemporary Review*, June, 1935, pp. 678-683.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Hapsburg (hops'boorg), Croix de Feu (krwah' d' fu—u as in burn), François de la Rocque (frahn-swah' d' lah rok'—o as in go), Constantin Yurenev (kon-stan-teen' yoo-ray-neff), Korekiyo Takahashi (ko-ray-kee'yo ta-ka-ha'shee).